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## WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON ; ST. PETERSBURG ; BERLIN ; WASHINGTON.

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LONDON, *September, 1907.*

THE United Kingdom is face to face with the possibility of a railway strike. I do not know, I do not think anybody knows, whether it is more than a possibility. The members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants are, as I write, voting on the question. The ballots are returnable on October 28th, and a majority of those who vote have to declare for a strike before a strike can take place. But, even assuming that the requisite majority is forthcoming, the last word will not necessarily have been said. There will still be room for further and final negotiations before the irretrievable step is taken. The prospect, however, is felt to be so far from reassuring that the market values of British railway stocks have depreciated in the last fortnight by over \$50,000,000; directors are cutting short their holidays and returning home; the companies are hastily training pointsmen and signalmen; and the Amalgamated Society is straining every nerve to enroll new members, so as to present, if the struggle comes, as broad and solid a front as possible.

The central and determining question at issue is the familiar one of the recognition or the non-recognition of the employees' trade-union. In the railway service of the United Kingdom some 600,000 men are employed. Of these about 220,000 are engaged in the actual manipulation of traffic. They are split up into various trades-unions. The enginemen and firemen have a union of their own, with over 18,000 members. So have the clerks, the pointsmen, and the car-men. But the largest, most powerful and most representative union of them all is the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, with a reputed membership of 97,000. It has been in existence thirty-five years; it includes among its

members representatives of all employees who are concerned in the movement of trains and engines, and its general secretary and guiding spirit is Mr. Richard Bell, one of the Labor M.P.'s and a most capable, experienced and fair-minded official. It is under Mr. Bell's auspices that the demands of the railway employees have been formulated, and it is on him that the responsibility for their enforcement will mainly fall. Those demands were embodied in a manifesto that was adopted at a conference of railway men in November, 1906. They consisted of an eight-hour day for drivers, firemen, guards, shunters, signalmen and motormen; a ten-hour day for all other workmen except plate-layers; a nine hours' rest between calls for all employees; increased pay for working overtime and on Sundays; and an immediate advance of two shillings a week in the country and three shillings a week in the London districts for all who do not receive an eight-hour day. It has been estimated, but with what approach to accuracy I cannot say, that these demands would add \$35,000,000 a year to the working expenses of the British railway system. Even as it is, the English railways are hard put to it to make both ends meet. Their dividends have shown on the whole a steady decrease for nearly twenty years, and, as investments, they have fallen from their old popularity almost as lamentably as consols. But it was not for financial reasons alone that the railway companies, with one exception, refused to entertain the men's demands. The employees also asked for the recognition of the Amalgamated Society as the medium of negotiation with the companies. This is the demand which has become the pivot of the whole dispute.

The companies' case is that the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, on its own showing, represents less than half of those who are eligible for membership and less than a sixth of the total number of railway employees; that the uniform policy of conferring with the men direct whenever occasion arises has worked to the satisfaction of both employers and employed; and that the companies could not, in any case, bind themselves to deal exclusively through a Society which commands the allegiance of considerably less than fifty per cent. of those who are qualified to belong to it. To do so would be an act of injustice towards the far greater number of employees who have declined to join the Society; it would entail the logical obligation of recognizing other and even smaller unions as well; and it would impose upon all

non-unionists the practical necessity of enrolling themselves for their better protection in the Society. This, declare the companies, is the result really aimed at by the present agitation. The Amalgamated Society asks the companies to apply a moral and material compulsion to those who have resisted its enticements by recognizing it as the sole channel of negotiation between masters and men. And this cool request is made on the open understanding that, if it is acceded to, the power of the employees for preferring complaints, enforcing demands and interfering with the direction, not to speak of the profits, of the companies will inevitably undergo a vast expansion. And, apart altogether from this, the companies insist that their position is very different from that of a private trader. A cotton-spinner is under no statutory obligations; he can close his factory, or run it on half-time or raise the price of his commodity. But a railway company operates under the most stringent regulations imposed by the Board of Trade; it has to justify any change in its freight charges before a Government department; and its responsibility to the public is so wide and constant and its connection with the trade and prosperity of the country so intimate, that it would be little short of a national danger if its workings, discipline and effective control were to be subjected to the dictation of any third party.

To these arguments the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants replies that its strength is not to be estimated by numbers alone, that it is most powerful in the great centres of trade and transportation where any disturbance would be felt throughout every corner of the Kingdom, and that its control of at least half the signalmen, who cannot be replaced at short notice, gives it an effective force out of all proportion to its strength on paper. It disclaims any desire to dictate to the companies or to participate in the supreme control of their undertakings. It merely asks to act as spokesman and negotiator for the employees when need arises. It denies the contention of the companies that the employees are themselves capable of stating their case in the most effective form or that they possess the requisite knowledge for conducting intricate negotiations. It points out that the North-eastern Railway Company recognized the Society ten years ago, and that, although considerable concessions in regard to both wages and hours of labor have followed that recognition, the dividends paid by the company have not fallen but have positively

risen. Furthermore, it reminds the public that the Postmaster-General has conceded the very principle against which the railway directors are fighting, and after a year's experience has found no reason whatever to repent his action.

Such are some of the principal arguments that are being bandied from side to side. They involve, it will be seen, grave questions of principle; and the public has found them absorbing, and the press is debating them with a more than British amplitude. It remains to add that there are considerable doubts as to whether the non-unionists in the railway service will obey the call of the Society if a strike is decided upon; that the men's fears of losing their pensions is a great deterrent; that Mr. Bell is acting with his customary moderation; that the more highly skilled branches of railway employment, the engine-drivers and firemen particularly, are inclined to hold aloof from the Society's agitation and to criticise its conduct somewhat sharply; that all previous strikes in the history of British railways have resulted in overwhelming victories for the companies; and that the Society has only a little over \$1,500,000 of accumulated funds of its own to fall back upon. These are strong arguments against a strike in the immediate future, although it is certain that the Society has it within its power to bring the railway system of the country to a temporary standstill or at least to inflict an immense amount of loss and inconvenience upon shareholders, shippers and passengers alike. On the other hand, no one who observes with any closeness the trend of economic tendencies can doubt that trade-unionism must eventually make its way into the railway business, as it already has into cotton, ship-building and mining. Meanwhile the companies seem to feel themselves strong enough to refuse to recognize the union, though they may agree to a conference without prejudice; and the signs are few that the men have either the organization or the resources or the public sympathy or the determination to carry through a general strike to a successful issue.

The interval between the adjournment of Parliament and the opening of what is called the "autumn campaign"—that wholesome custom which sends almost every English politician to his constituency, there to hold forth on the questions of the day—marks a period of utter stagnation in domestic politics. But the public mind this year has not been without its distractions. It

has had the railway crisis and the performances of the "Lusitania" to occupy it at home; and abroad, two events, one of them highly satisfactory, the other altogether the reverse, have claimed its notice. The event from which nobody can extract any pleasure is, of course, the attack upon the Japanese settlers in British Columbia. Public opinion in England should have been, but was not, prepared for it. Only the few who were acquainted with local conditions foresaw its inevitability. On the mass of the people it fell with every circumstance of surprise and humiliation. The memory of the somewhat self-righteous attitude assumed by Englishmen towards the agitation in San Francisco did nothing to soften the blow, while the fact of the Anglo-Japanese alliance lent it an added force. Englishmen have tried, indeed, to make the most of the fact that the Vancouver disorders were the work of American agitators; but, in their less exculpatory moments, they realize perfectly well that the conditions in British Columbia are essentially the same as those in California, and that the anti-Asiatic prejudice is as indigenous in the one community as in the other. In both districts, the dislike of the whites for people of any other color, their dread of being degraded to the economic level of their thrifty and unsparing competitors, the monopolizing spirit of a trade-unionism that is more or less infected with the doctrines of Socialism, the resolve to keep the country white, and the temptation of the politicians to always play to the gallery, are the operative causes. On both sides of the boundary-line the capitalists desire Asiatic labor, and its restriction would be an undoubted check on material development. In British Columbia, as in California, there is an enormous amount of work waiting to be done and a chronic shortage of men to do it. It is against the immediate interests of both the Province and the State to prohibit the immigration of Asiatics. It is against their ultimate interests to allow Asiatics to come in in such numbers as to threaten to undermine the white man's well-being. The wisest policy, both for California and British Columbia, would be to permit the advent of a limited number of Asiatics each year until such time as their waste lands were filled up with white immigrants and the foundations of an English-speaking community had been well and truly laid. But, so long as the local trade-unions object not merely to the influx of Asiatics but to any immigrants at all, there is not much chance of this policy being adopted. The alliance with

Japan will, no doubt, facilitate the temporary settlement of the difficulty in British Columbia; but the time is clearly coming when the whole question of Asiatic immigration into English-speaking countries will have to be taken up. The United States and the British Empire are in very much the same predicament; so, too, are China and Japan. A conference of these four Powers may in the long run become a necessity, if the problem is to be put in a fair and harmonious way of solution.

The other foreign event of the month in which England is concerned is of a far pleasanter character—the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. The terms of the compact have not at the time of writing been published; but the disposition of Englishmen to welcome the bare fact that an understanding has been reached is very marked. There is a general recognition that the precise provisions are of less moment than the spirit of confidence and good sense which has enabled two such inveterate rivals to accommodate their interests in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and along the Indian frontier. The only people in England who do not welcome this development are the extreme Radicals, who argue that any arrangement with Russia at this moment strengthens the Tsar's Government and the autocratic system, and correspondingly weakens the forces that are making for liberation and freedom. But the country pays little attention to them. It is unaffectedly pleased that a competition which benefited neither Power and was productive of many disturbing incidents should at length be closed. It is quite prepared to sacrifice something in return for a convention that will lift the nightmare of a possible Russian invasion of India. Moreover, there are European reasons for rejoicing over the prospect of a *rapprochement* between the British and Russian Governments. Great Britain, as I have before pointed out, has never quite understood an *entente* with France that left the ally of France out in the cold. Great Britain, moreover, has had reason to learn within the past year or two that it is not a British interest, but the very reverse, that Russia should remain impotent for the purposes of European policy. The Moroccan imbroglio would have been impossible if Russia had been able to undertake the responsibilities assigned to her by the Dual Alliance. It is not the least gratifying feature of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, in English eyes, that it marks a long step towards the readjustment of the European balance of power.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September, 1907.*

"HE is a man of Destiny," the Tsar's subjects have often exclaimed, as the tidings of this or that mishap that threatened his life reached their ears. They sometimes call to mind his terrible experience as a lad of twenty-three—when, travelling from the Caucasus to St. Petersburg with his parents and nearest relatives, the whole train was smashed to pieces and the Imperial family, with a few others, were saved as by a miracle. Nicholas's first journey abroad offered another text for an impressive sermon by the superstitious. On a May day in 1891, in the Japanese city of Otsu, a fanatic policeman, Sanzo Tsuda, suddenly struck the Russian Crown-Prince Nicholas on the head with his sabre, and was about to repeat the blow when he was himself knocked down by Prince George of Greece, and the danger averted. "Truly the Crown Prince is in the hands of Fate," his Russians said. In January, 1905, another amazing instance caused the tongues of the superstitious to wag, and confirmed men's belief that the supreme controlling Force in the great Beyond, especially interested in Russia, has ceded the threads of the Tsar's life to no secondary causes. While crowds of pious Russians were standing on the left bank of the ice-bound Neva, watching the Archbishop solemnly bless the waters that flowed black through the great hole in the ice, and while, outside the Winter Palace, the diplomatic corps and notabilities of the Empire were assembled in all their finery, one of the guns that were firing salutes from the fortress opposite was loaded, and some of the projectiles entered the palace and others fell at the feet of the Tsar and his relatives. But he was unhurt.

And now comes a fresh escape from a mysterious peril. The yacht "*Standart*," in which the members of the Imperial family were cruising, struck a rock in Finnish waters. Nay, it struck several submarine rocks and had to be temporarily handed over to the Baltic Salvage Company, which, if the weather keeps fine, may save it and receive some eight or nine hundred thousand dollars for their pains. The mishap took place in one of the many dangerous channels near Hangö, where there is a veritable archipelago of islands and islets, and where sand-banks and submarine rocks are so numerous that even passenger-steamers of light draught are strictly forbidden to enter them. Yet the Tsar's yacht "*Standart*," which draws three times more water



than those passenger-boats, steamed rapidly through in charge of one of the most experienced pilots in Finland, Blumquist. Fourteen knots an hour was her speed in a place where there are sand-banks and rocks at a depth of thirty, twenty and even fifteen feet! All of a sudden, a tremendous shock was felt on board, the vessel heeled over at an angle of twenty-four degrees, the gurgling of waters was heard rushing into the engine-rooms and the yacht stuck fast. The force of the impact was so great that the top of the rock was knocked off, the vessel was damaged in many places. Had a fresh wind been blowing, as is often the case at this time of year, the Tsar's yacht must have been a total wreck and the danger to the members of the Imperial family would have been grave. When the Tsar cruises, many precautions are taken. A reserve yacht accompanies him and whenever he anchors in Russian waters a little fleet surrounds his ship. But, strange to say, in this case, the reserve yacht, "Alexandria," lagged several hours behind and not one of the other vessels was at hand. In a word, the occurrence is wrapped in mystery.

The principal press organ of the Monarchist party has recently offered an explanation. There was no accident at all near Hangö, it affirms, but a deliberate attempt to perpetrate a dastardly crime. A fiendish plot was conceived to make away with the whole Imperial family at one fell stroke, and Providence alone thwarted the infamous designs of the criminals, who were doubtless Finns. This is a typical example of the light-heartedness with which the most damning accusations are launched against innocent persons without even a *prima facie* case to rely upon. In truth this Finnish plot theory does not tally with the leading facts. It is true that the Finnish pilot, who now pleads that the submarine rock was not marked in Russian charts, ought not to have taken the yacht into that dangerous channel without fully warning the Russian officer in command. But, if he was to blame for this, the Russian commander, Niloff, is also to blame for steaming at fourteen knots an hour in the channels of an archipelago which, everybody knew, abounds in rocks and sand-banks. The unsafe character of the "skerries" is a matter of common knowledge. About fourteen years ago, a cautious Russian admiral sailing in that very place was extremely anxious to reach Hangö with the greatest possible speed. Yet he would not move more rapidly than four knots an hour. And, even so, his ship was preceded by an

ordinary steamer which took soundings every few minutes. At last the admiral, seeing that he was running serious risks, wisely returned and took the train to Hangö. That was fourteen years ago. Radical changes have taken place in the Tsardom since then—changes the full significance of which are not yet realized.

If no criminal design can be imputed to the people to whom the life of the Tsar was entrusted, it will not be easy to acquit them all of that optimistic carelessness which seems to be an essential ingredient of the temperament of almost every Russian. Take the pilot, for instance. He pleads that the rock on which the yacht struck was not marked on the charts. True. But then the channel was reputed to be dangerous, and he was bound to steer clear of it. So dangerous was it, in fact, that, if the rock had been avoided, there was still a sand-bank in reserve on which the vessel must have inevitably run aground. And of these dangers the chart-makers had no inkling. Probably the channel had never been sounded.

Until the imperial commissioners have cleared up the occurrence, one would do well to eliminate altogether the theory of a plot. Not that there is any lack of criminals in Russia, or of would-be regicides among them. On the contrary, their name is legion, their deeds are historical and their fanaticism is stronger than death. Readers of Russian newspapers are familiar with the daily columns devoted to brief reports of political murders, fires and robberies. But their senses are blunted and these misdeeds no longer make clear-cut impressions. A physician, whose name is somewhat difficult to pronounce, Dr. Shbankoff, has made the entries, ascertained the totals and published what may be termed the balance-sheet of the revolution. Between February, 1905, and last June, he tells us, the victims of "epidemic bloodthirstiness" numbered 42,229, including murdered, executed and wounded. Of these, 19,144 were put to death without any formalities, mainly by anarchists, 2,381 were executed in virtue of a sentence pronounced by terrorist tribunals or Government courts, and 20,704 were wounded. The outbursts of revolutionary fury were especially violent in the Caucasus and the Baltic Provinces, which supplied a much larger proportion of victims than any other province of Russia. The bulk of the sufferers there, and indeed everywhere else, were members of the lower orders. But the representatives of authority and of capital numbered no less than

8,203 individuals. Soldiers and police, being especially obnoxious to the anarchists and therefore shot at sight in many districts, lost 3,158 men. Of prison officials there were 112 victims—a smaller contingent than was supplied by the higher authorities, of whom 148 suffered for their convictions or their position. Among these were four Cabinet Ministers, and members of the Council of the Empire, and 83 Governors-General, Governors, Vice-Governors and Generals.

Only the victims of "epidemic bloodthirstiness" are enumerated and classified by Dr. Shbankoff. Of the other categories he took no notice. Yet they, too, deserve passing mention, for their fate throws light on the revolutionary movement. Take incendiarism, for instance. Tens of thousands of people have been burned out of house and home, and turned adrift on the streets or the steppes to begin life anew—and, for the most part, wantonly. Moreover, together with the dwellings, very often granaries of corn, stacks of hay and straw—in a word, all the harvest—perished in the flames.

It is heartrending to read of this wanton and utter destruction of the fruits of labor, and to picture to oneself the feelings of the wretched creatures who, without a roof to their heads, are thrown back to the lowest social depths, there to begin the life-struggle anew.

And yet, it is easy to exaggerate the relative number of crimes against person and property committed every year in Russia. Many a resident in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kieff and Odessa never notices any of the symptoms of unrest which are daily described in the local journals. The country is so vast that, numerous though they are, these terroristic acts pass unperceived by many. Foreigners residing in St. Petersburg have often laughed at the fears for their safety evinced by their friends and relations in the United States or England.

Meanwhile, the elections are going on—elections which may, perhaps, change the face of Russia. The Government telegraphic agency daily publishes the results *urbi et orbi*, but nobody is able to understand them. The terms chosen are cloudy and misleading, so that the "moderate candidate" of the hustings may turn out to be a revolutionary deputy in the Duma. Russian readers are therefore content to watch and wait for what the future may bring.

BERLIN.

THE International Socialist Congress, the seventh of its name and kind, recently concluded its sittings at Stuttgart. Germany had with some hesitation been selected by the Socialists as the scene of this year's meeting, and the Württemberg government, under whose reluctant patronage the Congress was held, endured the demonstration which it would have been contrary to its reputation for liberalism to prohibit. As is all too often the case upon occasions of this kind, the results of the Congress seem entirely disproportionate to the labor expended. The elaborate resolutions, which were intended to summarize the proceedings and to furnish rules of conduct for Social Democracy throughout the world, are likely to prove as innocuous as they are long. They repay study, but they make no practical contribution to the sum of human consciousness, and no one entertains less illusions with regard to the possibility of revolution by resolution than the Social Democrats themselves. Exceptionally representative as the Congress has been of Socialist mankind from China to Peru, the absence of any fundamental agreement, nay, even of elementary harmony, has been equally notable. Indeed, the more nearly the Congress promised to approach the ideal of the internationalist millennium, the more narrowly it threatened to defeat its own object.

In the more material aspects of its activity the Congress has been equally unsuccessful. The question of militarism, for example, was debated to the point of exhaustion; and yet the sole tangible result was to emphasize more sharply than ever before at meetings of this kind the line of demarcation which separates one nation from another. The French anti-militarists, MM. Hervé, Vaillant and Jaurès, advocated the prevention of war in all circumstances by every possible and conceivable means. The Germans demurred. No, they said, the German Social Democrats are Germans first and last when it comes to a question of national existence. The principle of nationality, moreover, must at all costs be maintained with the aid of an army on a democratic footing. When once the international proletariat is armed there will be no more war. No attempt was made to give effect or even a practical form to the idea of internationalism which the Congress had ostensibly assembled to promote. A vague suggestion was made in favor of arming the proletariat

to the exclusion of the capitalist elements of society. Not, however, in order to defend the proletariat against the capitalists, since their *régime* would have been abolished, but in order to defend the international proletariat against itself. The maligned conception of the non-Socialist order of the world was maintained. It was only proposed to reverse existing conditions and to exchange rôles. As far as the Social Democracy is concerned, therefore, it is evident that no practical suggestions as to the means of effectively maintaining the peace of the world need be expected from this quarter.

"Proletarians of all countries, unite!" was the watchword of the Stuttgart Congress. In the list of subjects for discussion, there appeared the question of emigration and immigration. The topic is a burning one in various quarters of the globe, and the discussion promised to be interesting. The Australian delegate demanded that all elements which tended to cheapen labor and could not reasonably be expected to adapt themselves to the modes of life and thought of the white population should be rigidly excluded from any given State. With a more consistent display of the internationalist spirit the French representatives maintained that, subject to judicious treatment, the Chinese and Japanese, at any rate, were capable of "organization" in the Social Democratic and Trade-Union sense. An Argentine delegate went even further, and urged that every man, be he Jew or Greek, bond or free, had a right not only to migrate as and where he pleased, but also to be admitted to political communion in whichever State he chose to settle. No one protested more emphatically against this sort of "open-door" policy than the American delegate, Mr. Hillquitt, who was described as a naturalized Finn.

The lie was given to internationalist yearnings, and the Utopian "Future State," which has been set as a prize to be won by "*les damnés de la terre*," was completely ignored or only lightly touched upon in the debates. One of the Dutchmen conceived the subtle idea of suggesting that it was high time the Congress started to work out the plan of a Socialist political system, since the various parliamentary assemblies deliberated and legislated on a purely non-Socialist or State-Socialist basis of society. The French leader, M. Vaillant, a veteran of the Commune, rejoined that at present it was impossible to outline a picture of the

"Future State." With a touch of irony he recalled the fact that M. Jaurès had once promised to supply a sketch of the desired kind, but the promise had apparently been forgotten. M. Jaurès himself thereupon explained that, "fortunately for the development of Socialism, I fell ill at the time!" The motion to postpone the discussion of the nebulous Republic until the next Congress at Copenhagen was hailed with relief by all parties. The "Future State" has accordingly been shelved, together with the other "sentimentalisms."

Stripped of its high ambitions, the Social Democracy finds itself by universal consent becoming once more confined to its original crusade against the classes. Compelled to concentrate upon their rear, the Socialists are not likely to lose anything in strength or determination as the result of having temporarily abandoned their advanced internationalist positions. On the contrary, local activity will probably become more intense.

One of the most important directions in which, from the point of view of a successful Socialist organization throughout the world, some measure of uniformity must at all costs be achieved, lies in the careful adjustment of the relations between the Social Democracy as a political party and the Trade-Unions with their more essentially social and economic activity. A short step in this direction was taken by the Stuttgart Congress, but no permanent foundation for practical use has yet been discovered. In Germany, the Trade-Unions profess neutrality in the political conflict which is being waged on behalf of the proletariat by the Social Democracy. But this profession is apt to be misleading. It is even more inaccurate to imagine that the political Social Democracy and the social and non-political Trade-Unions have become permanently estranged over the famous general-strike controversy which was raised by the doctrinaires. On the contrary, as the Socialists themselves point out, the relationship which it is desired to establish between the two organizations aims at complete interdependence. The German Trade-Unions already number among their members and leaders many of the most influential of the fighting Social Democrats, and there is no so-called "free" Trade-Union which is not very largely composed of similar elements. While to the political organizations, on the one hand, and to the social non-political organizations, on the other, have been assigned different spheres of activity,

their coöperation in moments of emergency is practically assured. The question as to whether the political party or the Trade-Union is of greater benefit and value to the masses still remains undecided. It is, however, interesting to observe that so experienced a delegate as the Belgian Socialist leader, M. Vandervelde, contends that an increase of efficiency on the part of the Trade-Unions is of infinitely higher service and importance from the point of view of the practical interests of the working-classes than the capture of a few seats in Parliament. The German Social Democracy is in a mood to follow this prescription, and as, in view of its weakened Parliamentary position, this counsel represents the line of least resistance, the hint which it contains of strengthening the Trade-Unions is likely to be followed. As was pointed out during the course of the discussion on the subject at Stuttgart, the Trade-Unions are, in a sense, as much pledged to wage active war against the classes as the Social Democrats themselves, and the more closely the two organizations coöperate, the more likely are their efforts to be successful.

Where local and national differences are still allowed to flourish, international solidarity is out of the question. The successive Congresses at Nancy, Stuttgart and Bath have shown that the moment for speaking of an international alliance of the working-classes has not yet arrived. Perhaps the only point of any international character upon which an agreement has been reached, is the vindication of the principle of the international solidarity of the working-classes in the matter of strike-breaking abroad. This principle has long been under discussion, and it might just as well have been ratified at home. In Germany conditions approach most nearly to the ideal personal union of the two political and social organizations, but the conflict over the general strike clearly showed that complete mutual identification is still far from having been realized. The Social Democracy is reluctant to acknowledge the autonomous claims of the Trade-Unions in matters like the regulation of strikes and kindred questions. Until both parties have fully recognized that, although there is a common ground upon which they can join forces in their battle on behalf of the working-classes, each party, nevertheless, has its own peculiar sphere of action, no definite or permanently profitable coöperation will be possible between the two great branches of the working-class movement.

WASHINGTON, *October, 1907.*

SINCE a telegraphed summary of the address delivered by the Secretary of War on the opening of the elective branch of the Filipino Legislature has been published, residents of the Federal capital are more than ever inclined to think that his surname should be spelled "Tact." With singular skill he succeeded in pleasing at once the American and the native inhabitants of the archipelago. On the one hand, nothing could be more explicit and unequivocal than his averment that under no circumstances would the United States sell the islands to another Power. The only possible alternative, he said, to a continuance of American rule would be a recognition of the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves, a recognition coupled doubtless with such a guarantee of protection against foreign aggression as we have given in the case of Cuba. With a frankness that did him credit, and was calculated to dispel some illusions, the Secretary added that, in his opinion, at least three decades must pass before the fitness of the natives for self-rule will have been demonstrated conclusively. Meanwhile, the demonstration of such fitness might be furthered materially by the exhibition of self-restraint, moderation and close attention to the business of the hour on the part of the legislative body which he was addressing. He disclaimed sharing the impression that the outcome of the recent legislative election—wherein only a fraction of the qualified electorate took part, while a majority of the candidates returned were avowed advocates of immediate independence—should be looked upon as a disappointment by American friends of the Filipinos. He had faith, the Secretary said, that, in view of the candid announcement of the policy of the Washington Government, the native lawmakers would postpone premature efforts to secure self-rule, and would devote themselves exclusively to economic reforms and the promotion of industrial progress. That the seed sown by him fell on good ground and bore fruit quickly was presently attested by the choice for Speaker of Señor Osmena, who was formerly Governor of the island of Cebu, and who never has taken any part in revolutionary movements. Significant also was the circumstance that his nomination was seconded in an interesting speech by Señor Gomez, who has been an insurrectionist, but who unexpectedly declared himself against importing politics into legislative business, and who called upon his fellow delegates to show



their patriotism by renouncing party affiliations and legislating for the benefit of the Philippine people as a whole. What direction such legislation should take Secretary Taft judiciously refrained from defining, except that he recommended that attention should be paid to the civil service, and confessed a hope that the Assembly would favor permanent tenure of office and the bestowal of pensions. Referring to the commercial outlook, and especially to the prospect of free access to the American market for the sugar and tobacco of the Philippines, the Secretary announced a belief that a compromise might be reached in the coming session of the American Congress whereby free trade with the Philippines would be conceded, under the proviso, however, that the aggregate importation of the two commodities named should not exceed a given quantity in any one fiscal year. We trust that this optimistic forecast will be justified by the event, but, as yet, we can see but little ground for thinking that the Stand-Patters are in a compromising mood.

In the Government Departments at Washington there is no longer any effort to disguise the fact that the military and naval authorities are engaged in strenuous preparation for the contingency of war in the Orient. Not that war is desired by any one. But there is a deep-rooted and wide-spread impression that a collision with the United States has been contemplated for some time in Japan, and that the surest way of averting it is to convince the Tokio Government that we cannot be taken by surprise. There seems to be no doubt that, under peremptory orders from the Navy Department, the whole working force at navy yards on the Atlantic coast is being employed in making ready the vessels of the battle-ship fleet for the approaching cruise in the Pacific; that work is being pushed with energy on the fortifications of Subig Bay, the new naval station established near Manila; that contracts have been let for the delivery of 50,000 tons of coal in the Philippines, and that recruitment for the navy is being pressed with the utmost vigor. For the army, too, recruiting is active, though this may be explained upon the ground that it now numbers only 51,000 men, and, therefore, is some twenty thousand short of the desired peace establishment. It does not appear that the number of troops now stationed in the Philippines, which, including the constabulary, amounts to some 16,000, is to be increased immediately; nor is there any

apparent need of doing so, for a war with Japan, should one occur, would be, primarily, a naval contest. Were our battle-ships to be beaten at sea, we should need more soldiers in the Philippine archipelago, and we should need them badly. Not for a moment, however, is such an outcome of a maritime fight anticipated. As things are for the moment, the American battle-ship fleet is the more powerful in respect of numbers and weight of armament, and, as regards gunnery, is believed to be more efficient. Whether we have a naval strategist and tactician who is the equal of Togo remains, of course, to be proved.

It turns out, according to information transmitted from an authoritative source in Washington to a New York newspaper which hitherto has looked askance upon the project, that the despatch of our battle-ships to the Pacific has been caused by disquieting news communicated to the military and naval Departments of our Federal Government by confidential agents abroad. It seems that Japan has been engaged for months in putting her naval forces on a war footing, and that she has been placing orders of startling magnitude for war material—guns, shells and torpedoes—in England, France and Germany. It is averred on what seems good evidence that for months Japan has been preparing to steal a march upon us, such as was practised in February, 1904, when a Japanese fleet suddenly attacked Russian war-vessels in the neutral harbor of Chemulpo. We were nearly caught napping, it is said; but, as things are, we have recovered lost ground, and our battle-ships will probably reach the Philippines in time to protect those islands against sudden aggression. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that the Tokio Government is now convinced that its stratagem has missed fire, and that it will be inexpedient at this time to challenge the naval competence of the United States in Far Eastern waters. It will have been remarked by close observers that of late not only the statesmen in power at Tokio, but the Opposition headed by Count Okuma, have adopted a most conciliatory tone. It looks, therefore, as if the danger of a maritime war in the Orient, which, not long ago, seemed imminent, had been averted by advancing resolutely to meet it. Such, at least, is the opinion which now prevails among Federal officials possessing exceptional opportunities for gaining trustworthy information.

The second Hague Conference has been for some time a subject

of jest in official circles at Washington, for the reason that absolutely nothing has been done for the promotion of international peace, and that, even for the secondary object of mitigating the hardships of warfare, the accomplishment is limited strictly to the creation of an international prize court, the procedure of which, however, has to be settled hereafter by diplomatic negotiations. It is felt, at the same time, that the spokesmen of the United States at The Hague are in no wise responsible for the jejune outcome of four months' deliberations. Americans recognize with just complacency that, in a concourse of Europe's most expert diplomatists, our delegates, and especially Mr. Choate and General Porter, have played leading parts. It is no fault of Mr. Choate's that his project for establishing at The Hague a permanent international court of arbitration could not obtain the unanimous approval without which the most sagacious and most persistent efforts go for nothing, according to the rule adopted for the second Peace Conference. Germany and a congeries of weaker Powers dependent on her, or fearing her, would not accept the principle of compulsory arbitration in any case, while Brazil and many other Latin-American commonwealths declined to submit to the jurisdiction of an international tribunal unless each of them should be represented on it. Yet it would be, on the face of things, impracticable to place forty-four judges on the proposed international bench, even if all of these, as, for example, the so-called jurists of Hayti and San Domingo, were certain or likely to command universal respect. Several alternative methods of composing the Court were suggested, but none of them commanded unanimous favor, nor is any likely to in the present or a succeeding conference, organized like this on the principle of absolute equality, without reference to the relative strength of Powers; for a country like the German Empire naturally resents the claim of Costa Rica or Honduras to stand upon an equal footing.